

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----150230Z 070541 /73

R 140903Z JUN 77
FM USLO PEKING
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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 PEKING 1199

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CH UR US TW UR

SUBJ: FORMER UNDER SECRETARY JOSEPH SISCO'S CONVERSATION WITH
FOREIGN MINISTER

REF. (A) PEKING 1139, (B) PEKING 1145

1. FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA AND FORMER UNDER SECRETARY SISCO'S DISCUSSION OF BILATERAL ISSUES IN THEIR MEETING OF JUNE 6 HAS BEEN REPORTED IN REFTELS. THE FOLLOWING IS THE GIST OF SISCO'S REMARKS AND A FULLER RENDITION OF WHAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD TO SAY ON US-SOVIET AND US-NATO RELATIONS AND THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA.

2. THE FOREIGN MINISTER OPENED THE CONVERSATION BY ASKING FOR MR. SISCO'S VIEWS ON THE MIDDLE EAST, ON PRESIDENT CARTER'S POLICY TOWARDS NATO, AND ABOUT EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION.

3. ADDRESSING THESE POINTS MR. SISCO STRESSED AND
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EXPANDED UPON THE FOLLOWING: 1) THE STRONG LEADERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS NOW BEING EXERCISED BY PRESIDENT CARTER; 2) OUR DOMESTIC NEED FOR OPENNESS IN FOREIGN POLICY; AND 3) HUMAN RIGHTS.

4. THE FOREIGN MINISTER STATED THAT "AS TO THE POLICIES OF PRESIDENT CARGSSNS ADMINISTRATION, WE

WILL LISTEN TO HIS WORDS AND WATCH HIS ACTI ZQYZ
IT WILL DEPEND ON THESE HOW THINGS WILL GO".
TAKE THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF NATO, FOR EXAMPLE.
IN WHAT DIRECTION WILL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S.
AND THE NATO COUNTRIES DEVELOP IN THE FUTURE AND TO
WHAT DEGREE WILL THE POLICIES CALLED FOR IN PRESIDENT
CARTER'S STATEMENT BE IMPLEMENTED? HUANG SAID THAT
HE REALIZED THAT THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION HAD
BEEN LIFTED FROM THE EMBARRASSMENT OF THE WATERGATE
AFFAIR. HE ASKED ABOUT THE STATE OF THE US ECONOMY.

5. MR. SISCO REPLIED BY GIVING HIS VIEWS ON THE
U.S. COMMITMENT TO NATO AND ON THE SIZE OF THE U.S.
DEFENSE BUDGET.

6. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT IN TERMS OF
INTENTIONS, THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. -S. AND
NATO HAVE IMPROVED AFTER PRESIDENT CARTER'S
SPEECHES, BUT HOW WOULD THE PROGRAM FOR THE 1980S
DEVELOP, WOULD THE NATO FORCES BE MODERNIZED,
AND WOULD THERE BE COOPERATION IN ARMS PROCUREMENT
AND MANUFACTURE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE NATO
COUNTRIES? WHAT, HE ASKED , WAS THE POSSIBILITY
O F THESE THINGS BEING REALIZED?

7. MR. SISCO ANSWERED THESE QUESTIONS AND SAID
THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
WERE FULLY AWARE OF THE THREAT POSED BY THE SOVIET
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UNION, THAT THE DEFENSE BUDGET WAS A STRONG BUDGET,
THAT WE WOULD MAINTAIN A STRONG CONVENTIONAL AND
STRATEGIC MILITARY POSTURE, THAT THE CARTER ADMINI-
STRATION HAD A STRONG INTEREST IN DOING THIS AND
WAS RECEIVING FULL SUPPORT FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.
HE ADDED THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT THE FUTURE
BUT THAT THE U.S. ECONOMY AND THE ECONOMIES OF NATO
WOULD ALSO PLAY A ROLE IN THE FUTURE EFFECTIVENESS
OF PRESIDENT CARTER' NATO PROGRAM. (THERE
FOLLOWED BILATERAL DISCUSSION REPORTED REF B.)

8. FOREIGN MINISTER: OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE SOME
POINTS IN COMMON IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL RE-
LATIONS AND WE HAVE STATED THIS PUBLICLY. I AGREE
WITH YOUR VIEW THAT THERE IS NO ISOLATIONISM IN THE
U.S. GOVERNMENT. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE U.S.
TO BE ISOLATIONIST.

9. THERE ARE TWO ASPECTS OF THE UNITED STATES'

POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. ON THE ONE
HAND THERE IS INTENSE RIVALRY. THE US HAS VESTED
INTERESTS TO PROTECT WHILE THE SOVIET UNION IS
CARRYING OUT EXPANSIONISM AND THIS SITUATION CANNOT
BE ALTERED. ON THE OTHER HAND THERE IS THE TENDENCY
IN THE US GOVERNMENT POLICY TO PURSUE A POLICY OF APPEASE-
MENT. AS THE US DECLINES MILITARILY AND ECONOMICALLY,
THE US IS TRYING TO RELAX RELATIONS BY PROVIDING
TECHNOLOGY, TRADE AND BY RECOGNIZING THE SPHERES OF
INFLUENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION. THIS KIND OF POLICY
CANNOT RELAX CONTRADICTIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION
BUT WILL ONLY INFLATE THEIR AGGRESSIVE AMBITIONS.
THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH A POLICY ARE OBVIOUS. THEY
WILL SLACKEN THE VIGILANCE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE US
ABOUT THE DANGERS OF WAR AND THIS WILL LEAD TO DISARMAMENT,
TO POLITICAL AND MILITARY WEAKNESS AND TO LOWER MORALE
AND NATO WILL BE DISINTEGRATED AND ITS ALLIES WILL
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HAVE NO CONFIDENCE IN THE US. AS WE HAVE FORESEEN

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SUCH CONSEQUENCES, WE HAVE ALWAYS CRITICIZED SUCH
A POLICY OF THE US.

10. AS FOR THE SOVIET UNION, THE FOCUS OF ITS RIVALRY WITH YOU LIES IN EUROPE AND YOU HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY AWARE OF THIS ACT. THE SOVIETS ARE ONLY FEINTING IN THE EAST BUT THEIR MAIN FOCUS IS IN THE WEST. RECENTLY THE SOVIET PRESS HAS PUBLISHED SEVERAL CRITICAL ARTICLES ABOUT CHINA WARNING ABOUT THE THREAT OF THE "YELLOW PERIL" AND SEEKING TO GET THE US TO UNITE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST CHINA. THESE ACTIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION ARE BASED ON YOUR POLICY OF APPEASEMENT TOWARDS IT. WE THINK THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT THE SOVIET STRATEGIC INTENT. ONE SHOULD NOT COVER UP FACTS. THE SOVIET UNION IS TRYING TO MAKE USE OF THE US POLICY OF APPEASEMENT TO DEFEAT WESTERN COUNTRIES ONE BY ONE. YOU HAVE SAID THAT THE IMPORTANT NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE US ARE A DECISIVE FACTOR IN MAKING FOREIGN POLICY BUT THERE IS A BIG GAP BETWEEN INTERESTS AND POLICY. CHAMBERLAIN PURSUED A MUNICH POLICY AND HOPED TO PROTECT

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THE BRITISH EMPIRE BUT THE RESULT WAS THAT HITLER OCCUPIED EUROPE AND BRITAIN HAD TO RETREAT FROM DUNKIRK. THIS WAS A COSTLY LESSON. IS APPEASEMENT THE GOVERNING FACTOR IN YOUR POLICY OR ANTI-APPEASEMENT? WHAT DO YOU THINK?

11. MR. SISCO: YOU AND I BOTH GREW UP DURING AND EXPERIENCED THE MUNICH ERA. ITS LESSON OF APPEASEMENT HAS BEEN LEARNED IN THE US. THE US HAS THE CAPACITY TO MAINTAIN THE MILITARY BALANCE IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. WE WILL MAINTAIN IT AND WE WILL NOT LET THE SOVIET UNION CHANGE THE BALANCE OF POWER. IT IS TRUE THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS REAFFIRMED THE POLICY OF DETENTE BUT MR. BRZEZINSKI IN A RECENT INTERVIEW IN THE "U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT" DEFINES THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S VIEW OF DETENTE. IT IS A DETENTE OF ACCOMMODATION, NOT OF APPEASEMENT. IT IS BASED ON A POSITION OF FULL STRATEGIC AND CONVENTIONAL MILITARY STRENGTH AND IT RECOGNIZES AND IS OPPOSED TO THE SOVIET UNION'S PROCLIVITY TO USE SELECTIVE DETENTE. THE NEW ADMINISTRATION PLACES REALISTIC EMPHASIS ON RECIPROCITY AND MORE COMPREHENSIVE DETENTE. NEGOTIATIONS ARE A TWO-WAY STREET, THEY ARE NOT ONE WAY WHEN WE TALK ABOUT COMPREHENSIVE DETENTE.

12. MR. SISCO THEN WENT ON TO DESCRIBE THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HE SAID HE FELT THAT THE US

HAD ALL THE MAIN CARDS IN THE MIDDLE EASTERN
SITUATION AND DESCRIBED US POLICY IN THAT AREA.

13. FOREIGN MINISTER: WE DON'T BELIEVE IN DETENTE
OR IN ANY COMPREHENSIVE BALANCE. THERE IS NO
DETENTE AND NO BALANCE, THERE IS ONLY RIVALRY.
IT IS AN ABSOLUTE TRUTH THAT THERE ARE NO BOUNDS.
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THE LAW OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE PAST AND IN THE
PRESENT IS THE UPSETTING OF THE BALANCE WHICH
LEADS TO WAR. THIS WAS THE CASE IN WORLD WAR I
AND WORLD WAR II. IF A POLICY IS BASED ON BALANCE,
THERE IS ONLY AN ILLUSION AND IT IS LIKE BUILDING
A CASTLE ON SAND. THIS IS A FACT AND IS ACCORDING
TO THE LAW OF DEVELOPMENT IN HISTORY.

14. ON THE QUESTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST, I HAVE AN
EVALUATION OF YOUR POLICY. FIRST, YOU STRENGTHENED
ISRAEL TO GAIN CONTROL OF THE MIDDLE EAST. BUT
WITH THE MOUNTING NATIONALISTIC MOVEMENTS IN THE
ARAB COUNTRIES THE SOVIET UNION TOOK ADVANTAGE OF
YOUR NEGATIVE POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND GAINED
POWERFUL INFLUENCE CHANGING THE BALANCE OF POWER IN
THE REGION AND AS A RESULT BRINGING ABOUT CHANGES
IN US POLICY. IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH DR. KISSINGER,
CHAIRMAN MAO POINTED OUT THAT THE US HAD TWO HANDS.
HE SAID WHY SHOULDN'T THE US GIVE ONE HAND TO SUPPORT

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THE ARAB COUNTRIES? THE BASIC WEAKNESS OF YOUR POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST WAS THAT YOU DIDN'T SEE THE STRENGTH OF THE ARAB PEOPLE, YOU ONLY SAW ISRAELI STRENGTH. NOW THERE ARE SOME CHANGES IN YOUR POLICY BUT I THINK THERE WILL BE REPEATED TRIALS OF STRENGTH IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT RECONCILED TO THE FACT AND HAVE ALSO HAVE MANY CARDS TO PLAY. IF YOU DON'T PAY ATTENTION TO ARAB PEOPLE'S STRENGTH, YOUR WEAKNESSES WILL BE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF BY THE SOVIET UNION.

15. THESE WEAKNESSES ARE ALSO MANIFESTED IN AFRICA. YOU REGARD VORSTER OF SOUTH AFRICA AND SMITH OF RHODESIA AS MILITARY FORCES THAT CAN BE RELIED UPON. YOU HAVE IGNORED THE STRENGTH OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES. THIS IS A MINUS FOR THE US AND THE WEST. THE SERIES OF ACTIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION IN SOUTH AFRICA INCLUDING ANGOLA AND ZAIRE ARE IMPORTANT PARTS OF ITS EFFORTS TO SEEK WORLD HEGEMONY. THEY ARE NOT ISOLATED OR ACCIDENTAL INCIDENTS. THE SOVIET EXPANSION IN THIS REGION IS INTENDED TO
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OUTFLANK AND CONTROL EUROPE. WE FEEL YOU ARE TOO SOFT AND TOO WEAK IN THE FACE OF THIS SOVIET OFFENSIVE. YOU MENTIONED YOU WOULD TALK ABOUT THE SITUATION IN AFRICA AND I HAVE JUST GIVEN YOU MY CANDID VIEWS.

16. SISCO: THE ADMINISTRATION POLICY HS EVOLVED IN A POSITIVE WAY. THERE IS AN INCREASING AWARENESS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF AFRICA AND THE SOVIET CHALLENGE THERE. THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS UNDERTAKEN TO INFLUENCE SOCIAL CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT HAS A MORE ACTIVE COMMITMENT TO A DIRECT DIPLOMATIC ROLE. A RACE WAR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS IN NO ONE'S INTEREST AND IS LIKELY TO CREATE CONDITIONS WHICH WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR MAJOR POWERS TO STAY OUT. THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE A GOOD BEGINNING IN AFRICA.

17. FOREIGN MINISTER: AFTER CRITICIZING THE APPEASEMENT POLICY AND THE BASIC WEAKNESSES OF IGNORING THE STRENGTH OF THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE

EAST AND AFRICA, I WOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT EUROPE'S
NEED FOR THE US AND THE US' NEED FOR EUROPE. IN
OUR GLOBAL STRATEGIC VIEW, THE US NEED EUROPE MORE.
IN YOUR RELATIONS WITH EUROPE, I THINK THE US SHOULD
SUPPORT THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE AND EFFORTS TO
STRENGTHEN IT AND SHOULD ESTABLISH AN EQUAL PARTNER-
SHIP WITH EUROPE AND ON THIS BASIS ESTABLISH THE MEANS
TO DEAL WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE SAME APPLIES TO
JAPAN. WE MINCED NO MATTERS IN TELLING OUR
EUROPEAN FRIENDS THAT ONLY WHEN THEY ARE STRONG AND
UNITED WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO KEEP THE US AND PRE-
VENT IT FROM ESCAPING AT A CRITICAL JUNCTURE.
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